1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 In a clan structure grouped under a single clan name,
•582 the principle of exogamy is in theory supposed to be strict, but the practice varies somewhat from the theory, again indicating that the nominal clan includes a true genealogical clan together with families that have been assimilated to the clan. In a Monguor clan it is, for example, permitted for Monguor men to marry girls of families of known Chinese or Tibetan origin who have enrolled in the clan. I have also been told that among some groups of the commoners in the Li and Lu clans, Monguor boys marry Monguor girls of the same clan. They claim that in permitting such marriages they follow the practice of the Chinese, who allow marriages between families bearing the same surname (especially if it is one of the very common surnames), if the two clans are considered to be descended in fact from different original ancestors. Exogamy is, however, strictly observed among the noble or elite families who do claim true genealogical descent from a common ancestor; but once in a while a poor noble marries the daughter of a commoner of his clan.

If we may accept it as proved that the commoners are of different descent from the nobles, we are still faced with the problem of determining the real origin of the commoners. The Monguors, when asked about the difference between nobles and commoners, say that "things have always been that way." It is not surprising to find among the nobles, however, vestiges of a tradition explaining how they acquired their subject commoners. I have been told by no less than three T'u-ssu—the Ch'i, Li, and Ah—that the commoners are descendants of tribes which had been conquered by the ancestors of the T'u-ssu.

PROCESS OF CLAN FORMATION AT THE TIME OF CHINGIS KHAN

618 For a comparison we may turn to the record of what
175 is known about the way that Chingis Khan allocated territories and subjects to his sons, brothers, and leading generals. Vladimirtsov has described how Chingis assigned territories to the nobility that he created as a result of his conquests, and how he gave them sometimes whole tribes and sometimes fragments of tribes to live in these territories and be ruled by them.[4] The result was a social structure in which—as we see in miniature in the surviving Monguor society—the nobility were quite clear about their claims of descent, either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors," while the subject population, of diverse origin, were less clear about their genealogies but closely associated with their rulers in a manner that remained partly tribal but had become partly feudal. Under this system, there was a protocol which nominally required each ruling prince or noble to furnish to his sovereign a

ing the name of their suzerain clan, under the orders of the latter."

[4] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 124, 125, 127. [p. 396]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

576 606 291 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 858 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the necessity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 565 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

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Chapter I

Marriage by Purchase

583 The purchase of the wife by the husband's family is the common form of marriage among the T'ou-jen today. This form of marriage occurs in three different cases, each of which has its customs and special rights:

A. Marriage with a young girl as the official wife
B. Marriage with a widow as the official wife
C. Marriage with a young girl or widow as the second wife, or polygamy

A. Marriage with a Young Girl as the Official Wife

Summary. -- 1. Parties to the marriage. 2. Social position of the future partners with respect to marriage. 3. When the marriage proposal is made. 4. How it is made. 5. Discussion of the bride price. 6. Delivery of the presents. 7. Age required for marriage. 8. Setting of the wedding date and last arrangements. 9. Presentation of last gifts and invitation to the wedding. 10. Wedding without ceremonies. 11. Farewell dinner at the daughter-in-law's home. 12. Getting of the bride. 13. The bride's arrival in her new family. 14. Gifts to the bridegroom's family. 15. The wedding. 16. Opening of the daughter-in-law's mouth. 17. Dinner. 18. Gifts to the family of the daughter-in-law. 19. Departure of the guests. 20. Visits after the wedding. 21. Relations of the newly married couple with the daughter-in-law's family.

1. Parties to the Marriage

584 It is natural that those who have the means choose a young girl for a wife; moreover, this is almost a necessity, because they marry young. Ordinary unions are therefore contracted between young people.

582 /12/ The first question which arises is this: With whom may marriage be contracted?

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582 The general rule which governs the unions of T'ou-jen young people is very simple. It requires only that the husband and wife not bear the same name, therefore that they belong to different families. There are no exceptions to this rule. Moreover, it is the
M [17] same rule which exists among the Chinese and the Turco-Mongolian peoples.

M Now the T'ou-jen claim that formerly all the people of the
551 same t'ou-se were called by the name of the t'ou-se; a chief and his people thus constituted a clan. This is possible and even probable, for among the Mongols, who are racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, members of the same clan have the same name. (1) Today,

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1. The Life of Ghingis Khan, by Prof. Vladimirtsov, p. 5: The habit of minor tribes of adopting the appellation of some powerful and related neighbour even though they might be in hostile relations with the latter, is reported by the ethnologists of various parts of the world, e.g. from the Caucasus, the Altai, and contemporary Mongolia.

As the Tartar tribe was numerous, and had by the twelfth century acquired considerable importance, members of the other Mongol clans often adopted the famous name of Tartar, so that their own tribal name ceased to be known except to their nearest neighbours. /Cited in English./

P. 64: Temuchin after having brought all the tribes of Mongolia into subjection is proclaimed Ghingis Khan in 1206 at the sources of the Onon. "The Borjigin clan had once more revived the greatness and the glory of the Mongol name, and all the peoples of their race would henceforward be designated as Mongols. All the

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Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family [M 614] cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also M 582 605 171 be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

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582 unions between the children of brothers and sisters. Moreover, it is
605 the same practice which exists among the Mongols.
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A similar custom is found among the Chinese; however, the principle "another name, another family" is not pushed to the extreme. Actually, in China one sees marriages between the sons of a sister and the daughters of her brothers, but not the other way around, between the sons of brothers and the daughters of their sisters.

Another kind of alliance much sought after among the T'ou-jen is that contracted between the sons and daughters of two sisters. Two sisters married into two different families bear different names: consequently, their children are free to intermarry. /14/ The same practice is found among the Chinese.

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582 Let us point out still another kind of alliance very frequent
171 nowadays among this people; it consists in the exchange of daughters. Family A gives its daughter in marriage to the son of family B, and family B at the same time offers its daughter in marriage to the son of family A. This custom is also very frequent among the Chinese and the Manchu. (1)

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1. Some notes collected in Mr. Shirokogoroff's excellent study, Social Organisation of the Manchus, Shanghai, 1924, will broaden our horizon. Since the T'ou-jen whom we are discussing are Mongols and Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it is instructive to compare their customs with those of the Manchu, who, says Mr. Shirokogoroff, p. 168, "do not understand their name as an original ethnical name, but merely as a name of the power that includes different political and ethnical groups (the Mongols and others) into a new political unit." P. 167: "a) Klaproth asserted that the Manchu language is an amalgamation of the Tungus and the Mongol languages influenced above all by Turkic. b) He has shown the intercourse and assimilation of different groups,

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/14 cont'd/ Korean, Tungus, Mongols, and so on. c) I have expounded ... that the Manchus are an amalgamation from the physical standpoint, and that in general the so-called "Mongol race" is merely hypothesis insufficiently based on the superficial impression of the travellers." P. 11: "The Manchus recognize the following three groups, viz., 1) the ancient Manchus, 2) the modern (new) Manchus, 3) the Mongol-Manchus." /Cited in English./ These notes

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on the subject of the Manchu enter therefore within the framework of our subject. In spite of the enormous distance which separates Kansu from Manchuria, and the total absence of relations between the Manchu and the T'ou-jen, we find that many practices are absolutely identical among the two peoples; others, in the course of centuries, have undergone changes, which were different in the two camps, due to the presence of neighboring peoples with customs different from theirs; in more than one case, it is enough to look at corresponding customs in order to understand their alteration or, evolution.

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"Up to the present time the practice of exchange of women is one of the preferred ways to get a wife (among the Manchus). Among some other Tungus groups this is the only practical way of marrying." Shirokogoroff, p. 69. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French, indicated by parentheses./

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/15/ When the sister's daughter marries one of the sons of her maternal uncles, this union is called tao-t'sin, which means "returning the marriage" in this sense (1) "that formerly you /16/ gave us

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582 605 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 184 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why, above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

Mo /17 cont'd/
581 like themselves, for fear of being absorbed or exterminated by other clans stronger than they. Now what is more natural for making these supports as firm and durable as possible than family unions incessantly renewed by marriage?

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614 As a matter of fact the youth of the two groups are then mutual-
581 ly exchanged in marriage, and the young people constitute reciprocal guarantees by founding new families on one side and the other. What is more natural than that the pact concluded between two groups be sealed by a series of marriages? When one reads the history of the Mongols, one learned that a certain clan always used to take its wives from a certain other one; that peace was sealed by marriages; that pacts were guaranteed by matrimonial alliances. This is the natural and necessary economy of the nomadic state. Formerly, the purpose of marriage was not only to found a family, but very often to bring together groups of families, or whole clans.

000 When within this sphere of ideas one understands the expression tao-ts'in with its character of supreme obligation, of sacredness, one easily finds an explanation for it; similarly, one easily understands the custom of marriage between young people of groups already related. Vestiges are found here of the nomadic state where such alliances were a necessity. But as an organ useless to the body slowly atrophies and its reason for being in the end is no longer understood, so the customs under consideration, having become useless to the
Mo present-day agrarian economy and practiced /18/ less and less, have
Mi ended up by no longer being understood by the people. (1)
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1. Vladimirtsov, The Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 10. "The tribal constitution of the Mongols implied exogamy, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered closely akin to their own....Owing to the constant feuds, wars and raids, the kidnapping of marriageable women was a frequent occurrence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself)... another solution was for the clans to conclude

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agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"...." /Cited in English./

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The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

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The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting, and we shall have two youth festivals.

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When the T'ou-jen give their children in marriage, nowadays at least, they attach importance to the degree of generation of the two parties: thus a nephew will never be able to marry his aunt, or an uncle his niece. The two parties must always be of the same generation.

Mo 582 563 This same law operates among the Chinese. Among the T'ou-jen, however, it is not so strict as among the Chinese in the case of marriages between the widow of an elder brother and his younger brother. /19/ Among the Chinese of the country, an elder brother will be able to marry the widow of his younger brother, but never vice versa.

Mo 582 563 As for marriages of T'ou-jen with Chinese girls, they are strongly discouraged by the elders of the tribe as being the great cause of their denationalization. Nonetheless, nowadays these marriages are more and more frequent, all the more so because of the example set by the clan chiefs. These unions precipitate the progress of the T'ou-jen people toward absorption in the Chinese nation.

Mo 563 582 Very often one sees the T'ou-jen give their daughters in marriage to Tibetans. The seminomadic Tibetans, their neighbors, even seem to seek them because of their fecundity, which is well known in the region. On the other hand, it is astonishing to see how easily T'ou-jen girls adjust among the Tibetans and adopt their ways.

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1. Among the Manchu the laws regarding the "parties" to a marriage are more complicated than among the T'ou-jen. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 65 and following, says:

The women that may marry a man are limited to three restrictions: 1. the absolute prohibition, which they do not transgress, i.e. the prohibition to marry within the clan: (this law is explained as follows:) the general prohibition is to

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marry within the "mokun" two groups of clan members, who have two different ancestors in the fifth /sic/ senior class, and form of them two exogamic groups (mokun) with separate spirits, rites and shamans. 2. the facultative prohibition, i.e. the prohibition to marry within that clan, with which the man's clan is bound by some relationship of clans, or religious connection, or some degree of relationship within the mother's clan; (which comes back to the following formula:) all my class (of generation equal to mine) women belonging to other clans are my facultative wives; 3. the incidental prohibition... (for example, for widows, widowers, etc.). /Cited in English, with interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

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In the same way, marriages between young people of neighboring families are strongly discouraged. In this regard the T'ou-jen quote the Chinese saying: Liuen pou tso leang kia, toei men pou ts'iu ts'in kia: "Two different families do not live in the same courtyard, /20/ one does not contract marriage with the family opposite." This is to avoid difficulties which might then easily arise.

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2. Social Position of the Future Partners with Respect to Marriage

Separation of the sexes does not exist among the T'ou-jen as it exists among the Chinese, either before or after marriage. Let us, nevertheless, beware of concluding from this that there is betrothal preceding marriage. Among the T'ou-jen there is no mutual promise of marriage made between the interested parties with a certain solemnity; moreover, love does not precede the unions. The future partners do not make their choice after knowing each other.

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584 poor to ask for a girl in marriage and which later, having arrived in easier circumstances, has the means for it. These are always exceptional cases.

As a general rule parents ask for a girl in marriage for their son when she is very young, that is, when she is three or four years old. It even happens rather often that the promise of marriage is made before the birth of the children, provided the children to be born are of different sex. The promise is then repeated in front of the guests at the churching feast, and later the official betrothal formalities will be carried out. (1)

1. Match-making can be effected before the birth of the bride and groom. In this case if the sex of the child does not correspond to the supposition of the parents, they await the birth of other children. The Manchus suppose this custom to be of a very old origin. Shirokogoroff, p. 72. /Cited in English./

● 582 /22/ One could conclude from the above that the ages of the partners do not differ too much in many cases. In general, however, with the exception of the case last cited, it must be said that the bride is usually one or two years older than the groom; it even happens, and unfortunately the case is not rare, that the bride is 17 years old when the groom is scarcely ten or eleven. These are sad unions, arranged by selfish mothers-in-law, who see in the daughter-in-law a servant, and in the marriage of the son a lightening of their own work. These marriages take place when the girl is 17 and the son is still a child in all the full sense of the term. (1)

1. The brides are about the same age of the grooms i.e. 21. However it occurs very often that the bride is older than the groom. I know some cases when the wives are 5 - 6 years older than their husbands.

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This may occur for example, when the parents of a young man need a working woman in the house and take before the wedding, a small girl as the future wife of their son who dies before the wedding is accomplished: then the girl becomes the wife of the following son. It is seldom that the husband is older than his wife. In the condition of the Manchu social system all these combinations are quite natural, because the parents or clan relatives who marry their children have as the purpose of marriage not only marriage as such, but rather the obtaining of new working member for the family. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64. /Cited in English./

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584 The age at which a marriage proposal is made for a girl and the way in which the mother-in-law seeks her own advantage in the matter suffice to prove that those concerned have nothing to do with it and that their marriage is solely the business of their parents.

4. How Is a Marriage Proposal Made?

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584 Since marriage is the most important event in the family, it
787 is natural that it should have a religious character and begin with a religious rite. They thus begin with an examination of the year, month, day, and hour of birth of the future partners /23/ in order to find out whether the union will be prolific and fortunate. (1)

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1. Voyage ă travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821 /Trip to Peking across Mongolia in 1820 and 1821/ by Timkovski, translated and published with corrections by Klaproth in 1827, Vol. 2, p. 306. Before a marriage

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(among the Mongols) may be concluded, it is necessary to calculate with the aid of books under what signs the future husband and wife were born, so that the heavenly body which governs the birth of the latter may not be harmful to that of the former,

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nor dominate it: which means that the woman must not govern the household. The Mongols count 12 signs which correspond to our months; they are: 1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, tiger; 4, hare; 5, dragon; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, ram; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, pig. The fifth year, also

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called ibeghel, is the year in which it is always permitted to marry. As for the seventh kharchi, it is the opposite: for example, if the girl was born under the sign of the mouse and the ox, and the boy under those of the dragon and the monkey, then the marriage is permitted. But if one of the two was born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of the horse, in this case, even though they are of different lineage, the union cannot take place. The Mongols still claim that the ox and the tiger, the hen and the horse, and the monkey are of opposite constellations, pernicious signs, "Kharchi" which are decidedly unfavorable to marriages.

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The marriage having been recognized as likely to be fecund and peaceful, they will proceed to the marriage proposal. At the beginning of the first negotiations, they will be careful to insinuate that the alliance has been predicted to be a happy one. Nevertheless,

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Mo 584 431 A visitor who has come to offer presents is never allowed to leave without being given a gift. The receptacle which he brought cannot leave the house empty. Before, at each visit, they were careful to return to the go-between his jug filled with gin; the same will be done later.

7. Age Required for Marriage

Mo 582 The age required for marriage is 15 years; these 15 years are supposedly reached at the age of 14, after the winter solstice. The age of the bride varies from 15 to 17. The girls rarely pass this age without being married. This is because there are moral reasons for this general rule; as a matter of fact, the T'ou-jen claim that girls are "big" toward that age, and that there must be no more delay in marrying them off. Mo [801] Rarely girls are married at 13. Marriage never takes place when the age of the bride is an even number.

As for the age of the groom, there is no fixed rule; they do not bother about the even or odd number of years of his age. He can marry at ten, at 20, as well as at 30. Those who have the means ordinarily do not pass 17 without marrying. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor." /Cited in English./

/35/ 8. Setting of the Wedding Date; Negotiations concerning the Last Arrangements

Mo 584 When the fiancée has reached the required age for marriage, the custom is that the mother-in-law, rarely the future father-in-law,

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583 clothing and jewellery up to the sum of $100 -300. If the bridegroom's clan refuses, the wedding may be adjourned for a period of two years. They can refuse to give the bride three times, but finally they are obliged to give her without supplementary "kalin". In such case, 582 for the bride the age of 27 years is limit beyond which she cannot be kept in her clan. So that the matrimonial periods are the ages of 15, 17, 19, or 16, 18, 20... However if the matrimonial parties are on good terms the payment of the supplementary "kalin" can be omitted. Some days, 5 or 6 before the wedding, the bridegroom's clan people bring the supplementary "kalin" which they transmit solemnly to the bride's father or his substitute. /Cited in English./

/38/ 9. Delivery of the Presents and Invitation to the Wedding

583 About ten days before the wedding, the go-between and several members of the bride's family go to deliver the gifts agreed upon; in addition they bring 12 loaves of bread, a sheep, a goat, and the pieces of meat called mutsé, a term which the people did not succeed in explaining to me; only one knows by that that all the girls of the bride's neighborhood and the married girls in her family are invited.

583 After taking tea, they show the clothes, the hat, the eardrops...
584 so that they may be examined in detail. From time to time it happens that at this moment new difficulties again arise. Such and such a piece is refused.... Another must be substituted for it in haste or the wedding will be postponed until later. They demand everything up to the last cash before allowing the bride to leave;

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1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

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After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece

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of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

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587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for living with her new husband for a month, she had been able to judge him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow.

[672] Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment was the following: The widow must be sent back to her parents' home and neither Tchao nor Tchang may marry her.

According to T'ou-jen custom, the woman would have had to stay with Tchang, and Tchao by reason of not having paid the agreed-upon sum in time lost entirely all right over the widow.

7. Vestiges of Marriage by Abduction among the T'ou-jen

587 One can conclude from the preceding that nowadays the pur-
671 chase of the wife by the husband is the legal form of marriage, while
582 also recognizing as legal the abduction of a widow, on condition that the owners be indemnified.

583 One can believe that formerly the custom of abduction must have been general and that it was practiced for marriages of girls. Indeed, numerous vestiges of abduction are found in the customs surrounding the marriage of girls. When the son-in-law with his companions comes to get the bride, why does he find the door of the house shut? Why is it necessary to end up by breaking it in and receiving an avalanche of water on the head? This certainly is an assault on the girl's dwelling. When they sing at the door and ask that it be opened, one feels that this way is not natural and that in addition there is no sense to it. Besides, the song has nothing in it that is prescribed, when everything else in the customs is clearly fixed, even the speeches that are made. Why this thick veil /97/ which envelops the bride's head and which does not allow her to see; it is even tied around the neck with a red cord. Is it not to bandage the eyes of a person who is being abducted? At the moment of carrying the bride outside, why this abruptness, the door of the room which

/98 cont'd/

Mo 583 848

if the girl before the wedding becomes pregnant. In such a case she can be taken by capture and neither feast nor wedding are celebrated. The capture is usually effected by the bridegroom himself helped by 5 - 6 young men of his clan. The act of capture is always followed by insults and violations towards the bride. If she cries and prays to defend her, her relatives do not venture to intervene.

This is a sole case when the Manchus use "marriage by capture." Any other customs connected directly or indirectly, or survivals of them cannot be mentioned among the Manchus. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French in parentheses./

Mo 583

I think, however, I have to explain by abduction the rite according to which they cover, only for an instant, the bride's head with a piece of red silk taken away as quickly as possible by the bridegroom. Likewise I see a vestige of abduction in the fact that the bridegroom and his band find the door of the bride's house shut when they go to get her. Without invoking abduction it is impossible to explain the custom which requires that they carry the bride away with haste and throw her into the wagon, that in addition they only half harness the animals to leave as quickly as possible, and stop outside to arrange the harnesses, etc.

582 583 111

Schotter, "Notes sur les tribus du Koei-Tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year,

/98 cont'd/

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171

p. 320: There are (among the Hé-miao) abductions with tacit consent. It is then to avoid all expense. P. 342: One likewise finds vestiges of abduction among the Song-kia-tse.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit. /"Das Recht der Polarvoelker (The Law of the Polar Peoples)," Anthropos, 1928-29/, pp. 119-120, 121. Marriage by Capture and Elopement. As in the Old Australian Culture according to Graebner, marriage by capture should, according to him (Schmidt, Koppers), be a normal legal institution among the pastoral peoples and also the polar peoples among them, whom he includes in the northern group. Now it is true that the procurement of women by force for marriage is found among almost all polar peoples, and it is not at all uncommon. Once upon a time, however, (marriage by capture) supposedly was a legal custom, at least in former times. /Cited in English./

583 some which taken separately admit of another explanation. But is it not rational to explain them in this sense when, on the one hand, abduction is still practiced today for widows, and when, on the [587] other hand, some /details/ are found among them which are certainly not explainable without admitting abduction? Thus one can be tempted to explain the following of the bride by the girls of the village as being one step in conducting their friend. But then why do they take the horse's bridle and try to prevent his departure, and why is this ceremony called "pursuit of the lady?" One can find fault again with the fact that the bride's own brothers /99/ carry her out of the room, and with this other that a member of the family

/103 cont'd/

Mo 587 595

brothers, but this marriage is considered as if she would marry a man of a foreign clan. Thus the custom known as the levirate as a matrimonia form is not practised among the Manchus. P. 70-71: The widow cannot be remarried if she has a son of age over 12. If a widower marry a widow, the marriage between their children born before their second marriage is strictly prohibited. /Cited in English./

Mo [582]

This is not the case among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 587 177

Nevertheless, the Li t'ou-se, present head of one of the most important T'ou-jen clans, forbade marriages of widows of an elder brother to one of the younger brothers of the dead man either as official wife or as second wife. The Chinese disapprove of such unions, and the Li t'ou-se made this prohibition so as not to scandalize them. He made inquiries about marriages in his clan, and punished those who had disregarded his orders. The fine consisted of a pig to be offered to his ancestors; he wished by respect for his ancestors to protest his attachment to the old customs of the race.

Mo 582 587

/104/ The elders used to claim nevertheless that these unions were permitted by custom. (1) I believe it all the more willingly

1. Bartold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, (1928), p. 390: The custom of marrying the father's widow was still maintained among the Uighurs, but has now disappeared among the Mongols under the influence of Buddhism. /Cited in English./

when I think of an old custom of the Mongols, brothers by race of the T'ou-jen, which permitted the sons to marry even the concubines of their dead father, with the exception of marrying their own mother; and I believe it also because this prohibition does not exist in the other T'ou-jen clans.

/161 cont'd/

T 101 Evenki. The southern group includes the Manchu, the Goldi, the Olca, etc. The difference between the dialects of the two groups is not so clear as that which is met in the great subdivisions of the Indo-European languages. S. O. T., p. 51.

T 177 167 Now one finds among the Tungus all possible degrees of "Mongolization," with respect to language and customs, from the slightest to the most complete, especially in the northern group. This fact explains why distinguished linguists have gone as far as to deny even the existence of the Tungus as an independent unit. S. O. T., p. 87.

"Along with the penetration of the Mongol culture into the body of the northern Tungus complex, the intercourse between the Mongols and the Tungus grew so that they intermixed and crossed. Naturally the anthropological elements characteristic of Mongol ethnical groups... have also penetrated these northern groups to such an extent that some former northern groups have become entirely modified in their original physical features....By this method, a complete "Mongolization" of the Tungus has been and is still in operation...." S. O. T., p. 87. /Cited in English./

T 60 177 The Tungus formerly had a matriarchal organization which they exchanged for a patriarchal organization. With the new customs they borrowed, for what pertains to marriage, new terms to designate them; now it is a certain fact that all these terms are of Turco-Mongol origin. S. O. T., p. 242.

In the course of our work we have given notes relative to the southern group of the Tungus (Manchu group); here we give those relative to the northern group, more Mongolized than the southern group. Thus our documentation will embrace the two groups.

Mo T 583 As for the first paragraph, "Parties to the Marriage," p. 12, we /162/ establish among the northern Tungus as among the T'ou-jen the law of exogamy:

Op. cit., 210... "among the Tungus marriage within the clan is considered as incest and is prohibited, i.e. a man may marry no woman born in his clan. Exogamy is the backbone of the Tungus social organisation....Exogamy is one of the oldest institutions among the Tungus." One even meets endogamy, and, on page 336, this law is explained by migrations in distant places and the absence of

Mo T 582 /162 cont'd/ peoples of the same race, "among some groups this practice has been established as a custom." /Quotations cited in English./

T 583 P. 14. Exchange of girls; op. cit., 220: "Marriage by exchange is still the... most favoured form of getting wife." /Cited in English./

P. 15. Marriages, Tao-ts'in marriages between cousins, etc., op. cit., 213:

"Among all groups, marriage between cross-cousins is considered as a preferential mating....Marriage with the father's sister's children is allowed, as is observed among the Manchus." Op. cit., 214: "The mode of marrying most preferred is that when a brother and sister are exchanged against a brother and sister." /Cited in English./

P. 17. Practice of exchange of women between two clans. Op. cit., 212: "Among the Tungus it is of very common occurrence that two clans are bound by a systematic exchange of women, so that the mother's clan provides the women." /Cited in English./

T 584 P. 20. The social position of the future husband and wife with respect to marriage is the same as among the T'ou-jen. Op. cit., 223: "Among the khingan Tungus, the girl is not consulted in principle. She can thus be married against her will /cited in English/."

T 584 Op. cit., 224: "Match-making and marriages are not private and personal affairs but a clan affair, and the Kalym constitutes an essential element of marriage....The girl may be present (at the match-making) but custom requires that she must not show that the discussion concerns her. In the presence of the match-makers nobody consults her at all." /Cited in English./

T 582 P. 21. Children given in marriage before birth. Op. cit., 219: "... most of them are sometimes betrothed from early childhood and even before birth, as among the Manchus, and as commonly practised among the Chinese /cited in English/." As far as the Chinese are concerned, I believe the statement is too general.

P. 21. Respective ages of the bride and groom. Op. cit., 219: "Generally speaking the Tungus prefer an equal age in husband and wife. However under the stress of economical needs the Tungus sometimes marry a woman to a young boy in order to get a working woman /cited in English/."

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, are told about powerful shamans who lived in former times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall conclusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communities or private families, dresses in the same way as the Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175x

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family. 175x 622 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175x 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 114

/The Monguors/

kitchens."

N *563 M 60 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. N [171] [241] The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. N *563 621 The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or [631] "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a [622] village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. N [701] The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren. M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually 554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the 581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon- 562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an- [769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered [171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live- stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently *563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con- M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen 584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage 583 age for boys is between 14-16.

582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab- N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is *563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob- M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage 614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the 582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re- 565 garded as not being purely preserved, There is a feeling that it has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but *563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different 582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family, [587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband. However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from *563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan, 588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri- lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage *563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence 604